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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *xákit*, except of course that it is much shorter.

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *innát* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *innát*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátań*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible.

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggańád*), and these are tied to the head of the *innát* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair.

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place.

In some special cases the *innát* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *xúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadózān* in the case of an adult, a *dordorí* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *innát* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matăyán*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-nán*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbăń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makizánat* or *mepazinnatáy*) and participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *maxaníto* is per-

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is not even allowed to do that, but she has to satisfy the calls of nature inside, using some receptacle given her for the purpose.

In some places the widower (*bálo*) does the same at the death of his wife, and lives in an *aróboń* for the time being: such is the custom at Dangla, at Bolo, etc. At Bayag, it would be considered indecorous for a widower to imitate the women in this respect: there only the latter are bound to take up their temporary residence in an *aróboń*.

If the widow (or widower, where the same custom is observed by both men and women alike) is unwilling to live in an *aróboń*, she merely wraps herself up in a blanket, passing it over her head. This is called *maxubčban*, and the woman remains in the usual place near the corpse until one night after burial. Sometimes it may happen that widows or widowers refuse to submit to this ordeal, but they will in all cases be severely berated by the other relatives of the deceased. It should, however, be noted that, if they had little regard for the dead person during his lifetime, this ceremony may be dispensed with, without anybody taking much notice of the whole affair.

If the deceased was held in high esteem by his people, the other relatives remain at the other side of the corpse from the *aróboń* for the whole period that elapses between the dressing of the body and its burial, but they are not confined in an *aróboń*, and they are free to leave whenever necessary.

At Abbil (municipal district of Namaltugan) a widower usually goes to the river accompanied by one of his male relatives, on the morning of the day that follows the death of his wife. Once there his companion bores a small hole in the ground very near the water, and as soon as the hole is filled with water, the widower dips the little finger of his right hand into it. From this time on until the *obóbāt* ceremony (end of the mourning period), he is not allowed to take a bath. This ceremony, however, which is called *mamáwa*, is only performed by brave men, as a spirit is supposed to pursue the widower after he has dipped his finger into the water.

2. Burial

The coffin (*loñón*) is almost always made of ordinary boards, roughly hewn by means of a headax. Its size depends on the length of the body to be buried, and the boards are flat and oblong, except the two small ones at both ends, which are square or almost so; there are at least five of them, and in case the coffin has a lid, six. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is much

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764 shorter of course, but it is also much deeper. The case of the jar coffin in use at Bayag has already been mentioned. At Bayag also, where timber is becoming relatively scarce, the coffin may be made of bamboo, and in some cases, pebbles from the river take the place of a regular coffin. These pebbles are arranged in such a way as to cover the body on all sides inside the grave, each board of a regular wooden coffin being replaced by a certain quantity of more or less flat pebbles placed side by side, horizontally for the bottom and the lid, if the last is desired, and upright for the other four.

[764] In the morning before burial, or a little later in the day in case of small children who are buried the night after their death, the body is placed in the coffin, in the same place and position which it occupied until then. The *tódag* or bier is simply removed and placed upright somewhere against the wall or thrown under the house. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is placed [766] upright and the body is kept sitting. Occasionally, however, such a body may be laid down on its back and coffined as if it had been lying stretched out in its full length: this is what happened to Anton of Lettuakan, whose case has been mentioned before. In no case is a lid placed over the coffin inside the house. Even after the body has been placed in the coffin, the women's lamentations and the men's *bisnág* suffer no interruption: everything goes on as usual until the [766 184] funeral takes place. At Bayag the body remains as it is until burial; it is coffined only when interred, which is obviously a necessity in the case of a coffin of pebbles, as the latter are always arranged inside the grave.

764 766 The period of time that elapses between death and burial is not the same everywhere and for everybody, neither has it always been the same. In the past, when the Isneg were still their own masters, the *innát* of an adult was never buried before the fifth day after death; sometimes it took even six days before the body was considered sufficiently decomposed to allow of its interment. Actually strangers who know nothing about Isneg law or are bent on disregarding it, keep strict vigilance, and the length of the period has been greatly reduced. Consequently even the Isneg have accepted as the usual number of nights that should elapse between death and burial (which formerly was always performed at night) of an adult, three (Abbil, etc.) or from three to four (Musimut, Bolo, etc.), the night of burial included. But even this reduced number of nights, already accepted by Isneg custom, is not tolerated by the authorities, and

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábûg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length. 764

If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Sometimes, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather. 764 349

In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butit*, under a shed of the most elaborate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard. 766 184

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general, 765